7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

The boarding-school, as well as the day-school, students include both boys and girls. The technical school and college students are nearly all boys, most of them at the American University, one in the government normal school, a couple at the government vocational school. All these institutions are in Beirut.

We cannot, unfortunately, be very specific about the "white-collar" class. The chief criterion is that none is a manual laborer, and they were obviously all considered to hold respectable positions. Many are clerks in offices or shops. The most outstanding is an official in one of the government ministries. There are no practicing physicians and no lawyers.

The "city specialists" can be subdivided as follows:

Protestant preacher	1	Seamstress	5
Detective	1	Waiter	3
Fireman	1	Hospital attendant	4
Soldier (sergeant)	1	Janitor	2
Tailor	2	Surveyor	1

The "merchants" consist of members of a single family, plus close village associates, who own and operate a store in Beirut. They have been very prosperous since World War II.

Four of the teachers work in the village itself, but the individuals concerned have not always done so, and the teachers in the village government school have in the past often been outsiders, assigned by the Ministry of Education.

Lastly, it will be observed that over half of the gainfully employed women and girls are medical nurses. The position is one of some prestige in itself. Parents and family prefer it to other jobs because it means that the girl will be under the protection of an institution, and also because it may eventuate in the marriage of the girl to a doctor, a very prestigeful status.

MARITAL STATUS AND OCCUPATION

Table 6, which indicates the marital status of the population between the ages of fifteen and forty-five, reveals certain facts related to occupations. Everyone

TABLE 6. MARITAL STATUS: AGES 15–44

	MEN		WOMEN			MEN		WOMEN	
AGE	Single	Married	Single	Married	AGE	Single	Married	Single	Married
15–19	39	0	27	0	30–34	6	5	4	7
20–24	30	1	17	7	35–39	3	4	2	12
25–29	15	8	10	10	40–44	2	14	0	12

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

position with respect to Maximal Lineages A and B, respectively, except that these shrines themselves were built after the founding of the village—"at least two hundred years ago." However, there are two kinds of *waqf*. The more common is land (or other property) given to a religious institution often in fulfillment of a vow, and its usufruct is reserved for religious purposes. In other words, it is an endowment. There is another kind of *waqf*, also, however, and this is represented in Munṣif by Mar Jurjis and its *waqf*. In this case the *waqf* is a sort of family trust. The usufruct of the land is reserved for the family or lineage (in Munṣif, A,III) which originally established it. Only when and if the lineage dies out is the property turned over to a religious institution. The Caliph Omar (A.D. 634–643) is credited with the invention of *waqf*, but actually the Byzantines had similar legal forms (Bonne, 1948, pp. 199–220). It happens that the present priest belongs to A,III, hence he would derive some income from Mar Jurjis even if he were not the priest. He is also the custodian of the other *waqf* lands, and the income from them is his. The disposition of *waqf* income is not made in this way everywhere, but this arrangement makes a sizeable contribution to the support of the priest and his family. In addition to being paid fees for performing rituals, the priest is also supposed to receive an annual contribution from each head of a household.

Some villages have religious schools attached to the church, but in Munṣif formal religious instruction is conducted by the priest periodically in the village school. For the most part the religious instruction of the children is left to their parents.

SCHOOLS

"Many village communities in Lebanon have what amounts to or approximates universal literacy" (Matthews and Akrawi, 1949, p. 407). Munṣif is certainly one of these, and its condition is due to a long-standing emphasis on education.

In the village itself there are two schools, the government school and the "national" school. The government school is part of the government educational system. Instruction is free, except that the students must provide their own books. There are about seventy students and two teachers, both, at the moment, members of the village (A,V and C,XX).

The Lebanese public school system is based on the French, but it is incomplete. There is a fairly good distribution of public elementary schools, like that in Munṣif, which offer a six-year program (recently shortened to five years) at the end of which the student receives a *certificat*. There are some public schools (mostly in large towns and cities) which carry the process about three years further, a *brévet* being granted at the end. The student who wishes to continue his education beyond the *brévet* must do so outside the public school system, and he has three courses to choose from (Matthews and Akrawi, 1949, pp. 417–18). He may choose

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

to go to one of the Lebanese private schools which are now rather numerous. Each such school is called *al-madrsi al-ahliyya* (national school) because it is nonsectarian and does not regularly offer religious instruction (Hourani, 1946, p. 94). Such a school is "national" in the sense that it transcends sectarian barriers. If he does not go to a national school, the ambitious student must go to a private secondary school usually operated under foreign auspices, mostly either French (and invariably Catholic) or American. Many of these are boarding schools.

The French and the Americans each have their own educational system in operation in Lebanon. It was they, in fact, who gave the original impetus to modern indigenous education, although there have always been schools in the Arab world. Matthews and Akrawi point out that both systems go their own ways, and are based on entirely different philosophies (1949, p. 416). French Catholic or Protestant American are not the least elements in the division between them. The pinnacle of the French system is the Université St. Joseph (Jesuit), and that of the American is the American University of Beirut. For a long time the Government considered the American Master of Arts degree equivalent to the French *Baccalauréat, deuxieme partie*, which was the minimal standard required ordinarily of governmental appointees. This put holders of the Batchelor of Arts degree at a considerable disadvantage. St. Joseph prepares for the *Licence es Lettres* but does not confer it; similarly, the American University of Beirut confers the M.A. degree but not that of Doctor of Philosophy. Both institutions confer the degree of Doctor of Medicine.

At any rate, villagers, such as the Munṣifiin, who wish to go to college must attend a secondary school in order to qualify. Almost invariably this means boarding school away from the village, which in turn means considerable expense. To some extent the national school fills the gap in the public education system. The one in Munṣif, which was started about twenty years ago, has eleven grades, and about one hundred students, many of whom come from other villages in the Qurni. Graduates of this school must still attend a boarding school if they want to enter college, but the gap is considerably narrowed. There is a moderate tuition fee at the national school, plus books. There are three teachers, the owner and master (A,IX), his wife, and a young woman of the village (C,XXI) who was single at the time of the study.

Both schools operate under the severe handicap of a multiplicity of grades and a paucity of teachers. This is handled by holding all, or several, mathematics classes, for example, at the same time. School hours run from about 8 A.M. to 4 P.M. with two hours off for lunch. The national school has an evening study hall.

The curriculum of the government school follows a fixed formula and schedule to which all government elementary schools are expected to conform. Emphasis is on the "three R's," with some geography and history, the latter heavily laden with patriotic exhortations, and elementary civics and moral lessons which emphasize family relationships (Matthews and Akrawi, 1949, pp. 429–32).

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

872 Since 1946, public school students have had the option of taking French or English (*ibid.*, p. 426), and in Munṣif English is the universal choice.

The national school follows more or less the same pattern, at the same and also more advanced levels, but of course the master is free to choose his own texts and to present his courses as he chooses. The one in Munṣif is very much concerned with having up-to-date books (American and English), and holds his plant and students up to strict hygienic standards. The school has a modern toilet, and the drinking water is filtered.

THE "SPORT CLUB"

575 345 The building which houses the government school is also the center of the Sport Club which was founded by the young people of the village about 1950.

[524] The building has a large central room in which there is a stage and four or five tables for playing cards and other games. There are four side-rooms, one of which has a shelf of books and pamphlets and is the headquarters of the club. The other three are schoolrooms, equipped with small wooden desks for the students and blackboards. The large room is used as an everyday meeting place for the [521] adolescents and young adults. It is also used for the annual play. So far, it appears that though the club itself is new, it has focused already existing activities, such as the plays and volleyball games, but has not initiated any new kinds of activity. It is active as a unit only in the summer when there are many older students and young adults in the village on vacation, and if causes may be adduced, it can be said that the primary cause of the club's coming into existence is the need of idle vacationers to organize their activities. There was no need for this before the beginning of the recent changes in the culture.

VILLAGE GOVERNMENT

632 623 The village government consists of a mayor (*mukhtar*) and a four-man council of elders (*'adaa' akhtyaariyyah*). All five men serve concurrently for a term of four years. They are elected by the men of the village who have attained the age of twenty-one. The present mayor (C,XXI) has held the office for about twelve years. The tenure of his predecessor (B,XII), who was his father-in-law, extended back to about 1900.

[631] The present municipal statutes of Lebanon define three types of community. Beirut is in a class by itself. There follow one hundred and twenty "incorporated" towns. The remainder, about 1380, of which Munṣif is one, are classed as "unincorporated" villages. The unincorporated villages are governed according to the *Loi des Mukhtars* of 1928 (Ritsher, 1932, p. 1). Before 1928, the unincorporated villages were governed under the provisions of the Ottoman Vilayet Law of 1864 which, at the local level, was originally a formalization of the traditional pattern of government by a council of heads of households, one of whom was chosen as *shaykh*.

water supplies are not only inadequate and unsafe, they are also unhandy. In all cases the source is outside of the dei'ah and may be a mile or more away. This necessitates a long walk on the part of the women who carry the water in jugs to their homes. 312

One of the major items included in plans for the improvement project is that of furnishing domestic water to the villages. A well has been drilled near Loubya by the Technical Cooperation Service and it is planned to pump from it to a reservoir to be built on a high point. From here a pipe line distribution system will furnish water to fountains in each village. 312 185

In each of the five project villages, the persons interviewed stated that the nearest doctor, nurse, or hospital is located in Saida. Only Loubya reported having no midwife. Sarafand reported two midwives while the other three villages each has one midwife living in the village. It is beyond the province of this report to report upon the qualifications or training of the local midwives. 743 759

Schools

The information on village schools in the project area was secured from the local teachers (Table X). All of the project villages have government-run elementary schools, with the exception of Loubya. Loubya has no schools while Saksakiyah has a privately-run school as well as the government elementary school. While the school in En-Nsariyah has two rooms, the remaining ones are simple, one-room affairs. None of the villages offers education beyond the elementary level. Such higher education, however, is available at Saida or Beirut. 872 346

The number of pupils in each school varies from 20 in the private school of Saksakiyah to 100 in the 'Adloun government elementary school. This latter school is the only one reporting two teachers. The one classroom is usually small and the children sit, closely packed, at their desks. It is interesting to note the breakdown of the students according to sex. While 247 students attend the five schools, only thirteen of these are girls. The Shee'ah Moslems do not encourage their daughters to attend school. They feel that it is a hindrance to a happy marriage and often encourages disobedience to one's elders. [562]

9:Lebanon C-5 (1952)1953 MEI Lebanon MEI

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TABLE X

Schools

(Data from local teachers)

Five Kasmie Rural Improvement Project Villages

Winter, 1952

Dei'ah	Sponsoring Agency	Kind E.H.S.	Number of Teachers	Annual Pay	Number of Rooms	Annual Rent	Pupils: From Village Male	Pupils: From Village Female	Pupils: From Outside Village Male	Pupils: From Outside Village Female	Total No. of Pupils
Sarafand	Government	Elementary	1	1400	1	100	50	0	0	0	50
Saksakiyah	Government	Elementary	1	1800	1	50	25	0	0	0	25
	Private	Elementary	1	350	1	60	20	0	0	0	20
Loubya	No School		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
En-Nsariyah	Government	Elementary	1	1700	2	110	35	3	4	0	42
'Adloun	Government	Elementary	2	1600 1700	1	250	100	10	0	0	110
Total			6		6		230	13	4	0	247

14:Tannous 8-5 (no date) 1943 MEI Lebanon MEI

795 method of worship, cut apart and objectized from
621 the practices of daily living. It was rather a way
791 of life. The church grew up with the village, influencing it and at the same time being influenced by the other aspects of village life. Thus, to cast doubt upon the church meant casting doubt upon village life altogether.

II

797 Early in the second half of the 19th century,
621 three religious missions appeared on the quiet horizon of the Lebanon area—the Protestant (mainly American), the Catholic (mainly French), and the Greek Orthodox (Russian). There were other missions too—Italian, German, English, and Scandinavian. However, the influence of these did not reach Bidaidoun and they need not be discussed here.

797 The American Presbyterian mission has always been the most influential Protestant mission in the country. They began their work early in the second half of the 19th century. Beirut was their first base, whence they reached out to the surrounding Lebanon villages. Later, they established a second base in the town of Tripoli, from which they began to work in the neighboring villages of the
797 Koura district, including Bidaidoun. About
621 1890, they succeeded in establishing a simple
872 elementary school at Bidaidoun. A native Protestant teacher (man) was put in charge. A simple square room was found, whose owner was willing to rent it for the purpose. Tuition was free and parents were encouraged to send their children to the new school.

It seems that, at first, the people of the village

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defined the new situation in a positive and favorable manner. They did not have to pay anything extra for this new type of education. The mothers found it convenient that some one should take care of their children when they were not needed for farm work. At the same time, the rising silk trade created a demand for individuals able to write and use simple arithmetic. Some of the parents began to realize that it was necessary for their children to learn how to calculate, read, and write accurately. Further, during that period, the silk trade had begun to bring the village people in contact with the outside—Tripoli and Beirut—where there were learned people who held high positions in life. As a consequence of that contact, there was growing in the village a vague consciousness of the worthwhileness of learning and knowledge. The Arabic word "Ilm," the equivalent for knowledge, was beginning to assert itself in the village vocabulary. In a word, the stage was set for the establishment of a regular school, and the villagers seemed willing to cooperate.

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But that initial definition of the situation did not last very long. A new element appeared, a very significant element, which made the villagers more wary of what was taking place. It was observed that a new type of religion was being taught at the sch ool—aside from "innocent" arithmetic, reading, and writing—and that every Sunday the "foreign" missionary would come to the school and preach the Gospel in a new fashion to the students and others who gathered around. The people were not ready to tolerate this new element. It meant a direct attack upon the authority of the church, and this meant nothing less than undermining the integrity of village life as a whole. At the same time, the Russian mission did not like the idea of the Protestant mission working in the Greek Orthodox villages of the Kura district. Through the native Bishop of the district, they encouraged the villagers to do something about it. The instructions were "Do everything but don't touch the person of the missionary."

One Sunday, when the missionary came to the village to do his weekly preaching, the village leaders had already prepared a group of youths for action. At the appointed hour, the youths moved to the mission school and began shouting and making deafening noise by beating on empty cans, while the missionary and the teacher conducted the meeting inside. In a short while the mob became

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797 more menacing, and the two men had to leave the
798 village. The following Sunday, the mob attacked the school and threw the benches into the street. The school was closed, within one year of its beginning. ("...One Sunday, our service (in Bishmizzeen) was broken up by a mob of boys, throwing stones at dors and windows and beating tins and shouting. It appeared, however, that persons of most influence were on our side, and the government has issued an order to the people to respect our rights...." From the 1898 Mission Report, Beirut, Lebanon.)

797 However, the incident left its mark upon the
621 village. Among the people there were some who
872 looked into the future and felt the urgent need of education for their children. The mission school offered them the opportunity, and they were determined to grasp it. For the time being, they kept quiet.

Within the following two years, the desire for a school in the village grew very strong. A delegation of elders was sent to Tripoli to interview the Bishop about the matter. They requested him to establish a school in Bishmizzeen. The Bishop was reluctant about that. He advised them to send their children to the Russian mission school in the neighboring village of Amyoon. Their feeling of community pride was aroused. They felt it was an insult that they should send their children to another village for education. Certainly, their community was important enough to deserve a school. The Bishop resorted to another argument, which proved to be very tactless. He reminded the elders of the fact that the more sophisticated Bishmizzeen people were enough of a trouble for him without being educated in a regular school, and that school education would make them much more difficult to handle. The elders retorted by threatening to resort to the American mission and invite them to reopen the school. The Bishop reminded them of the danger such a move would involve for the religious beliefs of their children. One of the elders replied by saying, "Your Holiness, we don't mean that our children should change their faith; we want them to be educated as your Holiness was at a mission school. Your Holiness did not change your faith, and our children need not change theirs." (... Three schools have been begun in this district (Kura).... The poor old Greek Orthodox Bishop of Tripoli is at his wits end to know how to keep P 339 (B)

797 hold of his people in these villages. . . ." From
621 an undated Mission report.)
872 With that, the elders parted, went to the mission center and requested them to reopen the school in Bishmizzeen, promising to pay for the education of their children. The head of the mission reminded them of what they had done with the school two years previously. One of the elders retorted by reminding the missionary of what Christ said about forgiving one's brother seven times seventy! A new native teacher was appointed by the mission, and the school was reopened in Bishmizzeen.

797 The above story was dwelt upon with a view to
798 bringing forth several significant points. The
621 first of these is to emphasize the fact that the hostile reaction of Bishmizzeen to the mission did not take any serious violent character. In other places, the mission suffered serious persecution. This may be explained by two factors, a local one and a general one. Locally, the Bishmizzeen people had always been accustomed to live side by side with another religious group, the Moslem minority. They had learned how to tolerate the existence of another sect. Consequently, the appearance of a third sect, although shocking, was not as much so as it was in the case of other religious groups in complete isolation. The second factor derives from the general character of the Greek Orthodox church. It must be remembered that the Greek Orthodox or Eastern church has always been considered heretic by the Catholic church, due to the split which occurred in the early days of the Christian church. Since then, the Greek Orthodox sect have considered themselves as more "progressive." Further, the Greek Orthodox in Lebanon have always mixed with the Moslems of the country, much more so than the Maronites who secluded themselves on the mountain heights. Consequently one would expect the Greek Orthodox group of Bishmizzeen to be more open and tolerant toward the new message of the Presbyterian Mission.

621 The second point to be emphasized refers to the
794 manner in which the village elders argued with the Bishop and finally used a threat. That was unprecedented behavior, on the part of a lay village group toward high church authorities. As far as could be ascertained, that was the first incident of its kind in the village, possibly the first in the whole district. It is indeed hard to evaluate the significance of such a move. One may see in

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mainly Christian) those run by foreigners are now finding it difficult to disarm the suspicions of the Government. In Lebanon, there are almost as many private as state schools and the foreign schools still work without difficulty. There are higher schools for teachers and for agriculture and engineering in Syria and for agriculture in Lebanon, but it is usual for a student to pass from a secondary school directly to a university. The following table shows the various types of schools and number of students.

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Type	Lebanon, 1951		Syria, 1951–2	
	Schools	*Students*	*Schools*	*Students*
State:				
Primary	977	83,252	1,850	237,775
Secondary	..	..	57	26,237
Technical	30	2,381	11	2,146
Teachers	2	163	10	1,233
Reformatory	1	106	—	—
Private	601	84,788	387	65,936
Foreign	149	41,402	56	9,852
Total:	1,760	212,094	2,371	343,179

.. = not available.

(Sources: *Statistical Abstract of Syria, 1951–2*, Damascus, 1952; *Statesman's Year-Book*, 1953).

The American University of Beirut is non-sectarian and has students from all over the Middle East. It encourages the use of Arabic as well as English, and its most renowned faculties are those of medicine and social sciences. The University of St Joseph in Beirut is run by the Society of Jesus. Attached to this university are schools of medicine, law, and theology, subsidized by the French Government and administered by the Society, in which teaching is carried on in the French language. A National University has recently been started by the Lebanese Government. The Syrian National University in Damascus teaches in Arabic and its most important faculties are those of law and medicine. A separate body for the study of the Arabic language is the Arab Academy of Damascus.

Health

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Malaria and amoebic dysentery are endemic and, though efforts are being made to drain breeding-grounds, preventive medicine is only in a rudimentary stage. Good hospitals exist in the cities and more are under construction; qualified doctors practise in all the towns, but in the villages there is still a lack

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have retained close contact with their homeland, a factor which has had a profound influence on the social and the economic development of the country.

Unlike the neighboring Arab states, Lebanon is a compact territory. The density of population in the four administrative provinces, exclusive of Beirut district, averaged over 300 per square mile in 1948. It was 484 per square mile in Mount Lebanon, 356 in North Lebanon, and 291 in South Lebanon, but declined to 101 in the potentially fertile districts of the Bekaa. About 60 per cent of the inhabitants live under rural conditions in some 2,300 large or small villages. Urbanization has increased progressively within recent years, however, and almost one half of the population is now concentrated within easy access of Beirut. The city, which is not only the capital and the industrial metropolis of Lebanon but the principal port for the Levant states, had a population of 300,000 to 400,000 in 1950. Tripoli, the second largest city and the terminus of the pipeline from the oil fields in northern Iraq to the Mediterranean, had a population of roughly 78,000. Numerous towns in the southern and the central portions of the Lebanon range are popular resorts, with an annual influx of summer residents.

The fact that Beirut has become one of the leading cultural and educational centers of the Near East has stimulated the spread of education in the rest of the country. The literacy rate is consistently higher among the men than among the women: it probably averages from 75 to 90 per cent in Beirut and the neighboring districts of Mount Lebanon and from 40 to 60 per cent in the other provinces. The expansion of education has been influenced by the activity of French, American and other foreign groups, but the division between the different systems has hindered the development of a unified national program. Theoretically, primary education is compulsory, although the facilities are inadequate, especially in the rural areas of the south.